

## THE STRUCTURE OF MAITHILI PROVERBS:

### A KA:RMİK DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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#### ABSTRACT

*In the systemic functional linguistic (SFL) tradition of discourse analysis by Berry (1981 a, b), Fawcett, Mije and Wissen (1988) and O'Donnell (1990), discourse has been studied but not proverbial discourse. In their models of discourse, how a choice is made can be motivated, but the WHY aspect of discourse has not been motivated from a causal dispositional action perspective. Such a causal motivation has been first attempted by Bhuvaneshwar (1999, 2013, and 2017) and also in Bhuvaneshwar, Fatima, Sarah, and Khadija (2009) in the discourse analysis of proverbial exchanges. These analyses focused only on Telugu, English, and Arabic. In the culture of the Maithili speaking community, the use of proverbs is very common in conversation and proverbs are used in a number of ways of their variety-range-depth. This paper, providing a principled account of the structure of the proverb in conversational exchanges, aims to initiate research in Maithili proverbial discourse analysis for the first time, and study how proverbs are used in Maithili conversational exchanges (casual conversation). As for data collection, 25 proverbial exchanges were recorded and transcribed, and out of them, only five representative samples were taken for analysis. As for data analysis, each exchange was analyzed using the dispositional choice of networks of Bhuvaneshwar (2013) in terms of (i) the position of the proverb in the exchange, (ii) its sequential emergence in the structure of the proverbial exchange (PE), and (iii) the Proverb Meaning Triad (Literal-Prototypical-Contextual) are motivated from a dispositional causal perspective. An important finding worth-mentioning here is that Maithili proverbs have been generated-chosen-specified-directed-materialized (GCSDM) from dispositional choices made by the speakers as a result of their proverbial va:sana, knowledge, and likes and dislikes.*

**KEYWORDS:** Maithili, Ka:rmik Discourse Analysis (KDA), KDA of Proverbial Exchanges, Proverb Meaning Triad, Disposition, Va:sana, GCSDM & SFL

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In Maithili, proverbs are widely used in the day to day casual conversation. Furthermore, they are not only distinct from normal utterances (or exchanges), i.e., utterances or exchanges without proverbs, in their meaning and usage, but also not possible in certain slots in which the latter are. In spite of their wide usage and distinctive form, no research work on their structure in discourse has been attempted so far in Maithili – as far as we know up to date (i.e., August, 2018). Except the discourse analysis of Telugu and English proverbs in Bhuvaneshwar (1999, 2013), no discourse analysis on proverbs is reported in English and other Indian languages. Therefore, there is a need for a structural analysis of Maithili discourse with proverbs for a better understanding of their generic discourse structure.

### 1.1. Research Hypothesis

It is hypothesized that Maithili PEs also follow the broad discourse structure as outlined in Bhuvaneswar (1999) for polite consensus conversation.

### 1.2. Research Objectives

#### General Objective

The general objective of this study is to initiate research in the Ka:rmik Discourse Analysis (KDA) model by making a collection of proverbial exchanges.

#### Specific Objective

The specific objective of this paper is to analyze the structure of the collected Maithili proverbial exchanges (i.e., exchanges with proverbs used in them, PE for short) in the KDA model proposed by Bhuvaneswar (1999, 2013) in general and the type of the proverbs ( $P_1$ ,  $P_2$ ,  $P_3$  types), their meaning, and how they influence the sequence of discourse in particular.

### 1.3. Research Question

In conformity with the stated general and specific objectives, this study frames a single research question as follows.

*Do Maithili PEs occur as found in Bhuvaneswar's Ten Exchanges or are they different in their ka:rmik (via dispositional) choices?*

### 1.4. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope is very narrow, namely to study a few Maithili PEs collected to initiate research on an ongoing project on Maithili Proverbs started for Amity University. It is limited to a structural functional experiential analysis of proverbs and other aspects of culture, themes, etc. are not taken into consideration.

### 1.5. Definition of Technical Terms

**Proverb:** The definition of the proverb made by Bhuvaneswar (after reviewing the major definitions of Aristotle, Goethe, Meider, etc. from the past to the present) is taken:

*"A proverb is a culturally confirmed frozen text of a prototypical practice used as an illocution in a context to project a categorial view of life"* or simply *"a frozen prototypical text"* of social praxis.

**Proverbial (Conversational) Exchange (PE):** it is an exchange in which a proverb is used.

**Ka:rmik Discourse Analysis:** KDA is the discourse analysis conducted by using the Ka:rmik Linguistic Theory

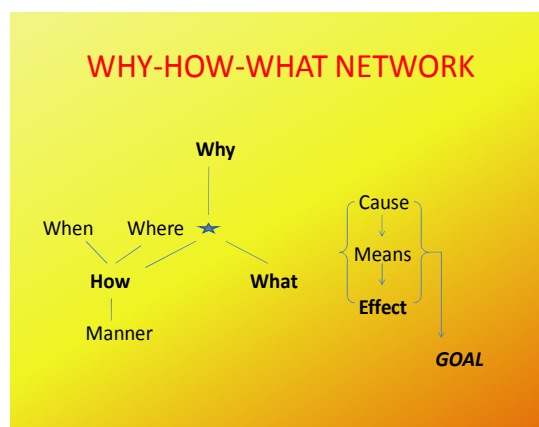
**Reality (Dispositional – Actional – Ka:rmik):** is the complex of reality constructed at the levels of disposition-action-karmaphalabho:gam (experience of the results of action).

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, past and present works are viewed, the research gap is identified and a solution in the KLT model is offered.

## 2.1. Review of Past and Present Works

In the Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) literature, we find important work done on discourse analysis. Berry (1981 a, b), Fawcett, et al (1988) and Nick O'Donnell (1990, 92) have contributed to the analysis of conversation in a significant manner. Berry concentrated on a synoptic analysis of exchanges in polite consensus model while O'Donnell on a dynamic model of analysis for all types of exchanges. In the grammatical tradition of Ka:rmik Linguistics, Bhuvaneswar (1999) made the first attempt to analyze the structure of proverbs in Inform/Elicit exchanges and pointed that proverbs need not occur in all the slots of Berry's Ten Exchanges and showed that both Berry's synoptic and O'Donnell's dynamic models (1990, 1992) have to be further extended to Bhuvaneswar's causal model that motivates the HOW and WHAT through WHY (Cause) as shown in the following network.



In the history of Maithili *proverbology* (comprising paremiography and paremiology) – a cover term coined by Bhuvaneswar to clearly distinguish different areas of the study of proverbs – we have only proverb collections but no proverb discourse collections. The first compilation of Maithili proverbs is made by Kapileshwar Jha's in *Dakvachanamrit* published from Darbhanga, Bihar in 1905. In 1931, Ram Naresh Tripathi brought out the most comprehensive collection of Maithili weather proverbs and sayings. Writes Sadan Jha in *Many Worlds of Dak Vachan: Proverbial Knowledge and the History of Rain and Weather*, published by Surat-based Centre for Social Studies that Tripathi "... with an objective to revive the agrarian condition, he travelled across the country, collected sayings personally or received entries by post, searched for them in the library and also wished that the Government had paid some attention to the peasant's knowledge of rain by establishing a separate department to maintain an account of the environment of *Paus* and *Magh*."

Reading Dak Vachan in the 21st century can be really instructive for those who practice organic farming, or those intending to do non-chemical farming. The principles and methods of farming continue to remain the same: don't harm the Earth for profit or greed. In a similar work, Singh (2011) has although listed an exhaustive list of Maithili proverbs, but they lack discourse analysis of the Mainthili proverbs in proverbial exchanges.

From this literature review, it is very clear that not much work has been done on Maithili proverbs, let alone the discourse analysis of Maithili proverbial exchanges (PE)s. Therefore, there is an urgent need to initiate research in this direction.

By doing discourse analysis of proverbs in the Ka:rmik Discourse Analysis (KDA) Model, it is claimed that a causal motivation and, in the process, more comprehensive analysis of Maithili proverbs can be carried out. As a result, both politeness-consensus model type conversation and non-consensus model type conversation can be carried out in a

single unified network of conversation. Here, disposition GCSDMs the type of an exchange that has to unfold during CCOA (coordination of coordination of action) for the construction of karmik reality via dispositional reality via discourse actional reality.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

This study has adopted qualitative research design, as the collected data are nominal in nature. The study has used KDA model with the Bhuvaneswar's Proverbial Exchanges and the network proposed to motivate the use of proverbial exchanges.

#### 3.1. Subjects and Samples of the Study

The subjects of this study were 25 Maithili proverbial exchanges elicited from casual conversation among Maithili speakers of different relations. Out of 25, only ten representative samples were taken for analysis.

#### 3.2. Methods of Data Collections

As for data collection, 25 proverbial exchanges were orally heard, recorded and transcribed for Corpus Bhuvaneswar (Indiana) with utmost care. However, the suprasegmental features were not recorded.

#### 3.3. Methods of Data Analysis

The collected data were analyzed using Bhuvaneswar's Ten Structures (Bh TSs) and the derived patterns of PEs were noted. Each of the exchanges was analyzed using the dispositional choice of networks of Bhuvaneswar (2013) in terms of (i) the position of the proverb in the exchange, (ii) its sequential emergence in the structure of the proverbial exchange (PE), and (iii) the Proverb Meaning Triad (Literal-Prototypical-Contextual) are motivated from a dispositional causal perspective.

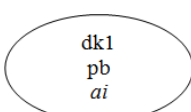
### 4. DISCUSSIONS AND FINDINGS

In this section, a KDA of Maithili PEs has been carried using Bhuvaneswar's exchanges (1999) and his network for PEs (2013).

#### 4.1. Discourse Analysis of Maithili Proverbial I/E Exchanges: A K(P)DA

According to Berry (1981a, b), normal conversational exchanges can occur in ten broad patterns as given below. Bhuvaneswar (1999) has taken Berry's analysis of exchanges in which she concludes that only ten structures are possible when all the three layers are conflated in all the permissible ways (1981b: 143). In his paper, two modifications have been made to their symbolic representation.

- Use of square brackets instead of circles to save space

Eg.  is shown as [dk1 pb ai].

- Use of subscripts at the end of square brackets to indicate the slot number of 'turn' in an exchange correctly, especially, when there are non-verbal responses: e.g. [N V]<sub>1</sub>, in (3).
- The following conversation between the author and a street vendor took place on 25.3.99 when he bought half a

kilo of grapes for fourteen rupees.

A (buyer) : tʃillarunḡa:ʔ ‘(Do you) have change?’ [k2 pb ai]<sub>1</sub>

B (vendor) : enḡandʒi ʔ ‘How much, sir?’ [k2 pb bi]<sub>2</sub>

A : (Takes a hundred rupee note from the wallet and shows it to him) [NV]<sub>3</sub>

B : unḡi. ‘Is there’. (nods the head also) [k1 pc bii]<sub>4</sub>

In this paper on Maithili PEs, one more modification has been made by translating these exchanges into Maithili.

## 4.2. Berry’s Ten Permissible Structures (BTSs)

### 4.2.1. Explanation of the Symbols used in Berry’s Analysis

**k1** In the conversation, there must be someone who already knows the information. He is called the *Primary Knower*. He need not necessarily be the first speaker to speak but he can be the only speaker to speak in such events as guided tours. He performs the function of knowing the information as well as conferring upon the information ‘a kind of stamp of authority’. This function is called k1.

**k2** In the conversation, there must be someone to whom the information by the primary knower must be imparted. This person is called the *Secondary Knower*. The secondary knower **indicates the state of his own knowledge in relation to the information. This function is called k2.**

**dk1** Sometimes, the primary knower – as in quiz competitions – delays the imparting of information to test the participants and so performs an additional function of delaying (withholding) the information. This function of the primary knower is called dk1.

**K2f Sometimes**, even if the secondary knower has already indicated the state of his knowledge, he may reinforce his knowledge. This optional function is called k2f (f standing for follow-up).

**a, b, c**, etc. stand for the speakers and the subscripts under the letters stand for the turns which they take. For example, ‘a’ stands for the first speaker and ‘b’ for the second; a<sub>1</sub>, a<sub>2</sub>, a<sub>3</sub>, etc. stand for the serial number of the turn taken by ‘a’.

**pb, pc, ps** stand for the terms *propositional base (pb)*, *propositional completion (pc)*, and *propositional support (ps)*. A pb performs the function of ‘providing a basis for the completed proposition by predicting the form of the completed proposition’; pc performs the function completing the proposition; and ps supports the proposition.

These symbols are used in the analysis of quiz conversation and are used in a synoptic model of analysis of conversation (i.e., looking at conversation as a finished ‘product’).

1. [ dk1 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k2 pc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k1 ps aii ]<sub>3</sub> [ k2f bii ]<sub>4</sub>

e.g. Quiz master (Q) : in England which cathedral has the tallest spire

Maithili (M) (Q): inglænd me kun girja gharak sikhar sabse paigh achhi?

Contestant (C) : is it Salisbury ; Q: yes ; C : oh

M (C) : Salisbari ki; Q: hā ; C: oh

2. [ dk1 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k2 p̄ bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k1 ps aii ]<sub>3</sub>

e.g. Q : in England which cathedral has the tallest spire

Q): inglænd me kun girja gharak sabse paigh sikhar chhai?

C : Salisbury ; Q: yes

C : Salisbari ; Q: hā

3. [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k1 p̄ bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k2f ps aii ]<sub>3</sub>

e.g. Son (S) : which English cathedral has the tallest spire

Q): angrejā kun girja gharak sikhar sabse paigh chhai?

Father (F) : Salisbury ; S: oh, it must be

Father (F) : Salisbari ; S: oho, hā wæh hetai

4. [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k1 p̄ bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k2f aii ]<sub>3</sub>

e.g. S : which English cathedral has the tallest spire ;

Q): angrejā kun girja gharak sikhar sabse paigh chhai?

F : Salisbury ; S : oh

F : Salisbari ; S : oho

5. [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k1 p̄ bi ]<sub>2</sub>

e.g. S : which English cathedral did you say had the tallest spire ;

(F) : Salisbury S): Ahan kun girja ghar ke ba:re me kahne rahi ki oker shikhar sabse paigh chhai.

(F) : Salisbur (F) : Salisbari

6. [ k2 p̄ ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k1 ps bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k2f aii ]<sub>3</sub>

e.g. S : you said that Salisbury was the English cathedral with the tallest spire ;

S): ahan kahne rahi ki Salisbarik Girja gharak shikhar sabse paigh chhai.

F : yes ; S : I thought so

F : hā; S : hamro sæh lagai ye

7. [ k2 p̄ ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k1 ps bi ]<sub>2</sub>

e.g. S : you said that Salisbury was the English cathedral with the tallest spire;

F : yes S): ahan kahne rahi ki Salisbarik Girja gharak shikhar sabse paigh chhai.

F : hā

8. [ k1 p̄ ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k2f ps bi ]<sub>2</sub>

e.g. F:Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire; S : yes

F) Salisbari ingland ke sabse paigh shikhar wala girja ghar chhai. S : hã

9. [ k1 p̄ ai ]<sub>1</sub>, [ k2f bi ]<sub>2</sub>

e.g. F: Salisbury is the English cathedral which has the tallest spire;

S : oh F) Salisbari ingland ke sabse paigh shikhar wala girja ghar chhai.

S : oho

10. [ k1 p̄ ai ]<sub>1</sub>

e.g. Guide (conducting party round cathedral):

Salisbury is the English cathedral with the tallest spire.

Salisbari angrejak sabse paigh shikhar wala girja ghar chhai.

[The underlined functions are obligatory. ]

Bhuvaneswar (1999) has taken these patterns as a starting point and checked whether proverbs can occur in all the slots of these 10 exchange patterns. He found out that it is not possible to use proverbs in 15 out of 25 slots in the ten structures derived by Berry (1981: 143) in her synoptic model of conversation. In the conclusion of his paper, he discusses where proverbs cannot come and proposes Bhuvaneswar's 10 exchanges for proverbs in conversation as given below.

If these ten structures are extended to PEs (without quiz or test type of questions), we get the following options.

**dk1** cannot contain a proverb since its use blocks the delay of information. Therefore, dk1 in BTS 1 and 2 in the first slot cannot contain a proverb.

**k1** in BTS 6 and 7 gives only polarity information. Since a proverb is inherent with major information, it cannot be used in the second slot of BTS 6 and 7.

**k2** elicits information in 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Since a proverb needs a PB, these first slots of BTS 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 cannot contain a proverb. In BTS 1 even though k2 in the second slot completes a proposition by providing his state of knowledge, it is still an elicitation and as such a proverb is unnatural in this position.

**k2f** without ps cannot contain a proverb. Therefore, BTS 1, 4, 6 and 9 block the use of proverbs in the k2f slots (in the fourth, third and second slots of these four structures respectively). By taking these constraints on dk1, k1, k2 and k2f into consideration, we find that proverbs cannot occur in 15 out of the 25 slots of Berry's ten structures. They are given below in Bh T Ss.

In addition to these observations, prefatory exchanges (Turner 1987; Akindele 1988) and repetitive exchanges (Martin 1985) have to be incorporated into Berry's ten structures. Again, the use of proverbs in these exchanges has to be incorporated.

Berry's model is synoptic but the use of proverbs - which is purely a dynamic mechanism - radically alters the structure of conversation. It is so because of the pragmatic constraints as well as the structure of conversation itself.

When a proverb is used as a k2f, it can be further followed by another normal k2f such as: anṭe: gaḍa: mari. 'Indeed, that's it!' as an extension to (19), when B possesses shared knowledge.

Berry's model does not account for the option of not initiating an exchange in Proverb form; it does not account for the obligatory nature of ps for proverbs to occur.

#### 4.3. Bhuvaneswar's Ten Structures of a PE (BH TSs)

##### Bh T S 1

- a. [dk1 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / \*P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> k2    \*P<sub>1</sub> / \*P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> pc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k1 ps aii ]<sub>3</sub> [ k2f bii ]<sub>4</sub>
- b. [ dk 1 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ k2 pc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> k1    \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> ps aii ]<sub>3</sub> [ k2f bii ]<sub>4</sub>

Both the second and third slots simultaneously do not contain proverbs. If they do, it is when a proverb is inappropriately used in the second slot. Moreover, the possibilities at k2 and k1 are with a different dk1 in the first slot of BTS 1 and 2

##### Bh T S 2

- a. [ dk1 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> k2    \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> pc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k1 ps aii ]<sub>3</sub>
- b. [ dk1 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ k2 pc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ \*P / P / P k1    \*P / P / P ps    aii ]<sub>3</sub>

##### Bh T S 3

- a. [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ Pk1 Ppc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k2f ps aii ]<sub>3</sub>
- b. [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ k1 pc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> k2f    \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> ps    aii ]<sub>3</sub>

##### Bh T S 4

- a. [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ Pk1 Ppc bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ k2f aii ]<sub>3</sub>

##### Bh T S 5

- [ k2 pb ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ Pk1 Ppc bi ]<sub>2</sub>

##### Bh T S 6

- \* [ Pk2 Ppc ai ]<sub>1</sub> \* [ Pk1 Pps bi ]<sub>2</sub> \* [ k2f aii ]<sub>3</sub>

##### Bh T S 7

- \* [ Pk2 Ppc ai ]<sub>1</sub> \* [ Pk1 Pps bi ]<sub>2</sub>

##### Bh T S 8

- a. [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> k1    \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> pc ai ]<sub>1</sub> [ k2f ps bi ]<sub>2</sub>
- b. [ k1pcai ]<sub>1</sub> [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / \*P<sub>3</sub> k2f \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> ps bi ]<sub>2</sub> [ p<sub>3</sub> k2f is possible (?) ]

##### Bh T S 9

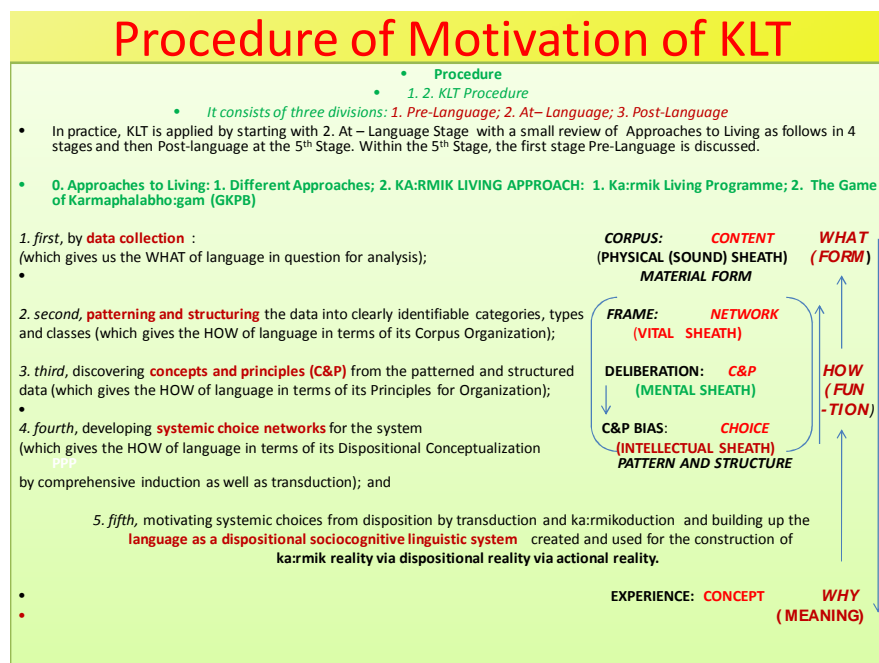
- [ \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> k1    \*P<sub>1</sub> / P<sub>2</sub> / P<sub>3</sub> pcai ]<sub>1</sub> [ k2f bi ]<sub>2</sub>



## Bh T S 10

$$[* P_1/P_2/P_3 / \underline{k1} *P_1/P_2/P_3 / \underline{Pcai}]_1$$

Applying the Standard KLT procedure given in the following table, let us motivate whether proverbs occur in these structures as given by Bhuvaneswar in his BhTSS.



## 4.4. Patterning and Structuring

Since it is an intermediate analysis, only the types in which the proverb occurs in a conversation were noted. For this purpose, the terms P<sub>1</sub> (proverb alone); P<sub>2</sub> (proverb as a part of the sentence); and P<sub>3</sub> (proverb at the initial, medial or final positions in a turn) were taken as the items for investigation. Moreover, the literal-prototypical-contextual meanings of proverbs were also elicited as part of analysis.

## 4.4.1. Types of Maithili Proverbs in a Proverbial Exchange

P<sub>1</sub> Proverb in Maithili

According to Bhuvaneswar (1999 as 2013), when a proverb occurs by itself in a conversation, it is called a P<sub>1</sub> type proverb. In its strictest form, the proverb occurs by itself alone without any proverb initiator and in its liberal sense along with the proverb initiator. The proverb initiator goes hand in hand with the use of proverbs in most of the cases and in some languages and instances, it is optional. Bhuvaneswar gives the following examples from English and Telugu to show the P<sub>1</sub> use of the proverb from real life situations.

(1)

A: It is better that we came this way!

B: *Every cloud has a silver lining.*

A: oh, you used a proverb!

B: Because of you.

(2).

A: e:m e:so:bu      ba:gunna:va:?

‘what Esobu,      well are you?’      “Esobu, are you well?”

B: e:mba:g(u) amma:? *rekk(a)*      *a:ḍiḍe:gani ḍokk(a)*      *a:ḍaḍu.*

‘What well mother? ‘the wing (hand)      move if not, the rib      moves not

“What well, madam?” “If the hands don’t move, the stomach will not move.”

[No work, no pay.]

In (1), the proverb occurs in a turn alone (i.e., as a P<sub>1</sub> proverb); in (2), it comes at the end of the turn in the final position (i.e., as a P<sub>3</sub> proverb which can occur initially, medially or finally along with other sentences). Even though the proverb in (2) is by itself alone, it occurs along with other utterances.

In the Collection of Maithili exchanges we made, P<sub>1</sub> is very rare even though it is theoretically possible. Look at the following PE in Maithili.

(1)

A: kee baat chhai, kathi me sab gote laagal chhee. [What’s up? What you all are after...]

B: sabgota milke math’s ke hisaab bana rahal chhee, uttar aabiye nai rahal chhai.

[We are busy with solving a math sum; but there is no solution, yet] (*Exchange 1*)

A: se kee kehan problem chhai je. [Aha, what the problem is like?]

C: tu kee bujhbhak. [It’s not your cup of tea]

A: hamro ek ber dekhai le diya [Let me have a look once.] *Follow up move*

B: kee, kee kahala tu. [What, what did you say?... (in amazement)] – initiates another exchange within the exchange challenging the ability of A by a query.]

A: ek ber hamhu kosis karai chhee [Let me also try once.] – Linear Recursion

**B: Kahai nai chhai kehen kehen ghodi bhaasal jae aa narghodi kahe katte pen.**

(*Exchange 2*)

This transaction consists of two types of exchanges. Exchange 1 is a simple elicit/inform exchange in which A seeks some information and B supplies the information and A acknowledges it by saying ‘se ke’ and the exchange ends there. This is not a simple exchange like 1. It is a ‘Suspension’ exchange. In this exchange, there is a main exchange:

**A:** se kee kehan problem chhai je. [Aha, what the problem is like?]

**B:** Kahai nai chhai kehen kehen ghodi bhaasal jae aa narghodi kahe katte pen.

Within this exchange, there are two suspension exchanges:

1. C: tu kee bujhbhak. [It’s not your cup of tea.]

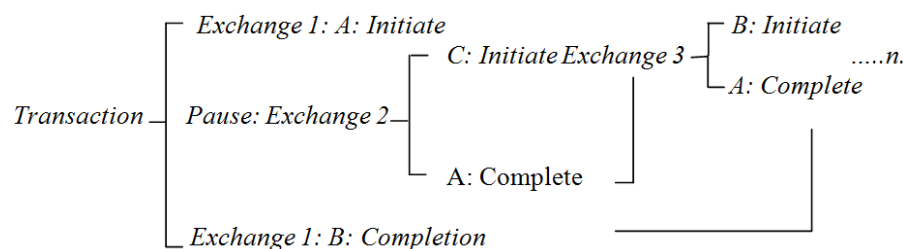
A: hamro ek ber dekhai le diya. [Let me have a look once.] *Follow up move*

2. Within this first suspension exchange, a *second* suspension exchange is embedded:

B: kee, kee kahala tu. [What, what did you say ?...(in amazement)]

A: ek ber hamhu kosish karai chhee. [Let me also try once.] – Linear Recursion

Such exchanges can be captured in a neat network as follows.



**Transaction Network 1: PE Structure with a Suspension Exchange in Maithili**

## P<sub>2</sub> Proverb in Maithili

We could collect a P<sub>2</sub> proverb in our collection of 25 exchanges. In the last turn of the second part, the proverb is embedded with ‘Don’t worry because X...’ where X is the proverb. In addition, it occurs before another sentence. So, this is a P<sub>3</sub> proverb having a P<sub>2</sub> proverb. An interesting combination

A: thandhaa pèn dev kanta. [Give me a glass of cold water.]

B: heya liya. ki bhel muh kiya latkal ye?

[Take it. Why are you pulling a long face?]

A: kee kahab office me sabta pachha pèr gel ye?

[All the colleagues are (persecuting) after me.]

B: kee kunu baat bhel kee? [What’s wrong?]

A: ee saalaa sab chahaiye ki ham eta se kaaj chhoir ke chail jaay, muda hamaraa boss ke sab pata chhai. Aay pher se ee sab shikayat karaile gel rahe lekin boss oker sab ke nai sunalkhin. Lekin o sab pher se kunu saajish raich sakai ya hamar khilaf.

[These rogues want me to leave this job; but, my boss knows the facts. Today, they went again to complain against me, but, he did not heed to them. But it’s very likely that they will conspire against me soon.]

B: chinta nai karu *giddh ke shraape katto gaai marai*.

Ahan apan kaaz per dhyaan diyoau.

[Don’t worry, eagle’s curse will not kill a cow. You just concentrate on your work. ]

## P<sub>3</sub> Proverb in Maithili

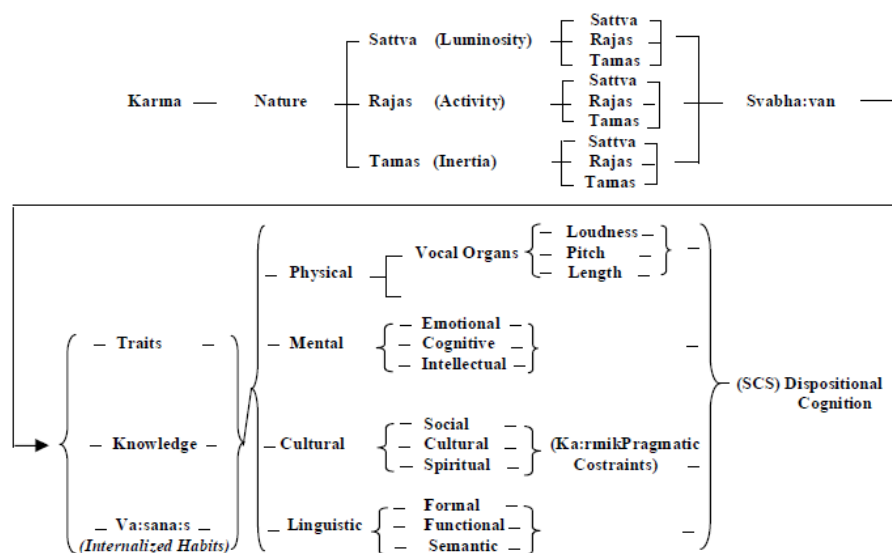
In Maithili, there are many proverbs that have this characteristic property as observed in the following proverb exchanges.

A: Lal kaki, Maa bajbai ye chai pibe lel. [Lal Aunt, my mother is calling you for a tea.] B: han, <i>ghar bhaat te padosini pakre haath</i> . Kail jakhan hamara ghar ke chaipatti saith gale rahai ta kiyo puchhaiyo bala nai rahai aa aai tu hamara chai ke lel chariya – chariya ke puchhai chhee. [Hmm, someone rightly said <i>ghar bhaat ta padosiniyo pakre haath</i> . ‘When you have rice in your house, neighbors will also offer the same’. Yesterday when I ran short of tea bags, no one came forward to offer tea and today you are calling me for tea repeatedly.]	
MAITHILI PROVERB	<i>Ghar bhaat te padosini pakre haath</i>
Literal Meaning	When you have rice in your house, neighbors will also offer the same.
Prototypical Meaning	When you are well privileged with the essentials of life, others will also extend their help to you.
Context	Offering tea.
Participants’ Relationship	A: Nephew, B: Aunt
Purpose	Sarcasm

In this PE, there is a proverb used in the beginning of B’s Turn in the exchange. It occurs alone but is followed by a comment about what happened to B yesterday. To elaborate further, the proverb is followed by some more talk that throws light on the social praxis aspect of the use of proverbs. In  $P_3$  proverbs, there will generally be categorical instantiation of the prototypical meaning. This is a very clear example to show how proverbs are used as prototype-categorical instantiators. It will be further discussed in the Derivation of Meaning section.

#### 4.4.2. Emergence of Discourse Structure in Maithili Proverbs

In the network given below, it has been shown how Karma (as the Principle of Cause-Effect Experientiality in its philosophical sense – not in religious sense) underlies the nature of human beings in its specification as *svabha:vam* (disposition) and how it effects cognition of discourse action. *Svabha:vam* in KLT is a complex of traits-knowledge-*va:sana:s* which GCSDM lingual action through its cognition.



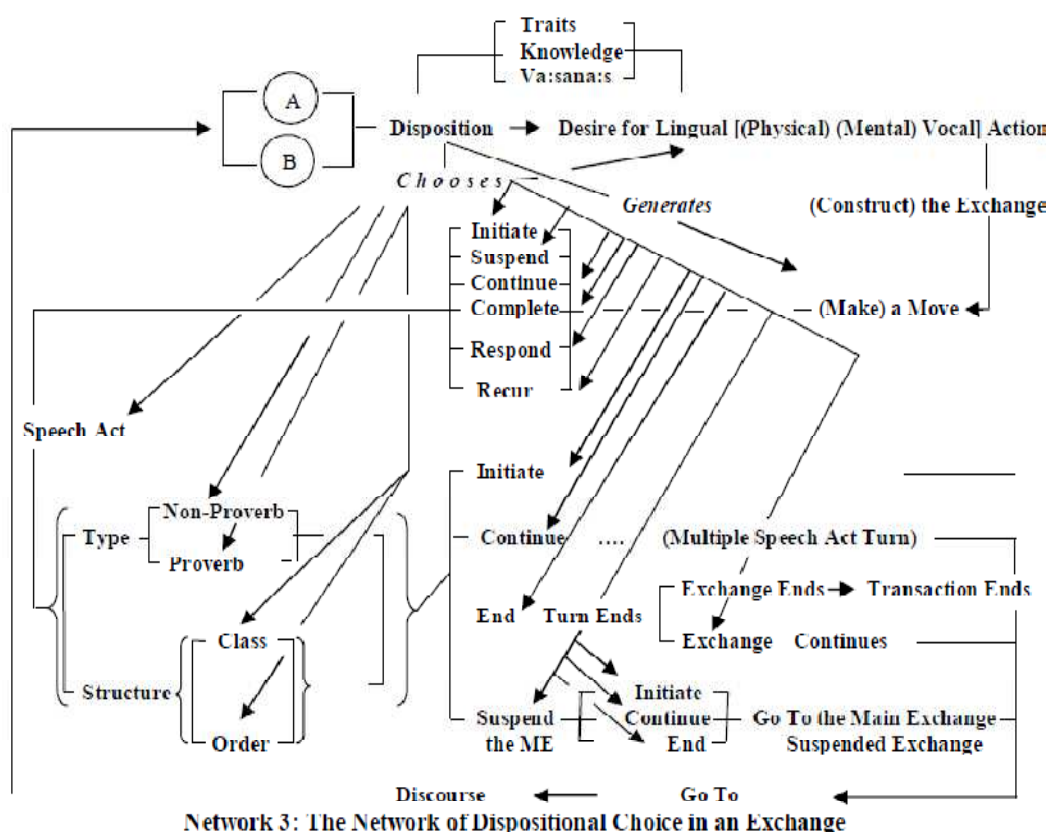
Network 2: Network of *Svabha:vam* in Conversational Exchange

The emergence of discourse (conversation) structure in Maithili proverbs is a clear-cut proof for the *ka:rmik* linguistic view that “language is as it is NOT because of what it does but because of what it is intended to do what it does (Bhuvaneswar)”. Let us look at the example once again and see how the sequence of conversation structure emerges owing to dispositional choices made at each and every stage of the dynamic evolution of the transaction.

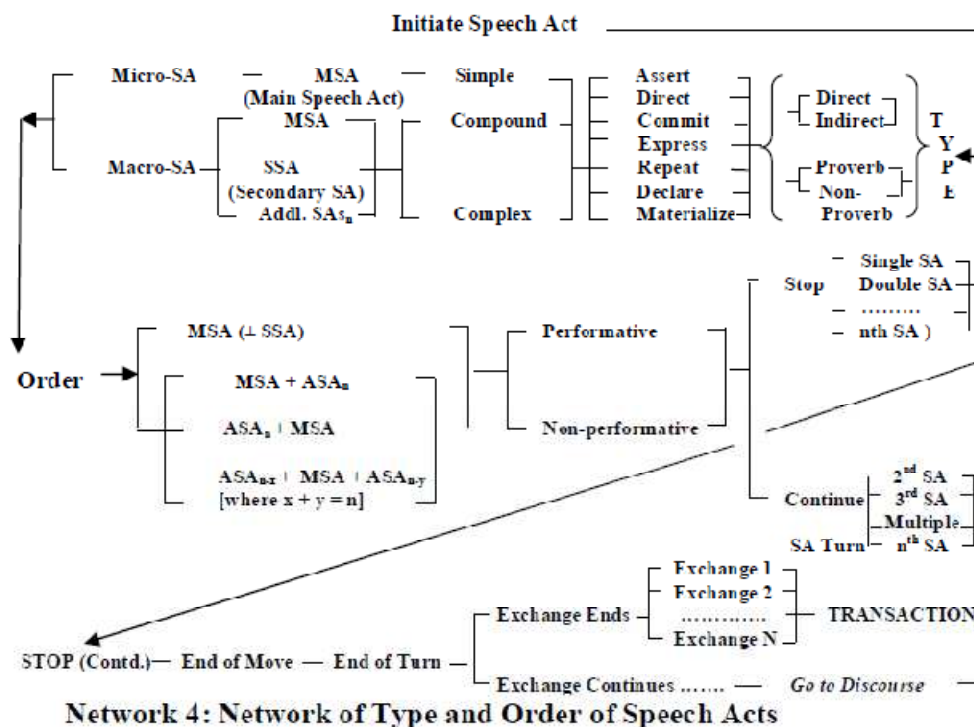
- If A is not curious, sympathetic and active, he will not initiate the conversation at all. He is concerned to help and participate in the ongoing event of solving the mathematical problem.
- If B is not high-handed, he will not dismiss A in such a summary manner which is somewhat humiliating for B. Had he been a gentle and democratic type of a man, he would have invited A to participate in the activity. Just because of his estimation of A as incapable to solve the problem, he rejected him. Even C is also like him.
- Just imagine what would C have said during conversation, if he were open-minded

“C: Oh, do you know how to solve such problems?... Try your luck...” Or something like that and the entire sequence would have radically changed. In a similar way, had B been considerate, he too would have given him a chance and all the suspension exchanges would have been changed...and the proverb might not have been used at all. Therefore, we can empirically say that the sequences in the evolution of the transaction are GCSDMed by dispositional choices of the interlocutors and not otherwise. That is why Bhuvaneshwar made another network of choices based on disposition and its decisive nature in causing the conversation to be WHAT it became as HOW it became.

The following network gives us a tool to motivate the emergence of discourse in a principled way as dispositionally GCSDMed in the context of its occurrence. (see Bhuvaneshwar 2013 for its operation in analyzing exchanges.)



This is a simplified network in which, the type and structure of language are not shown in detail in terms of Form-Function-Meaning-Style-Context in view of the space constraints. For such discussion, see Bhuvaneshwar (2013). There are four modules: *disposition*; *discourse structure*; *language*; and *CCOA* (Coordination of Coordination of Lingual Action). *Disposition* GCSDMCs the entire discourse.



#### 4.5. Derivation of Meaning in Maithili Proverbs

According to Bhuvaneswar (2013), three types of meaning are important in understanding proverbs: 1. Literal; 2. Prototypical; and 3. Contextual. However, these meanings have been discussed below in the following Maithili PEs with respect to literal and prototypical meanings only.

##### 4.5.1. Literal Meaning

It is the meaning of the proverb from its semantic perspective. It deals with the denotative meaning of the individual words and what they mean together.

Take the following example of the proverb “*Murga nai baajtai te bhor nai hetai?*” used in the following PE in which all the 7 words joined together give the literal/denotative meaning as *murga* ‘cock’; *nai* = not; *baajtai* = crow; *ta* = then; *bhor* = dawn; *nai* = not; *hetai* = will happen. All the words “If the cock does not crow, will there be no dawn”.

A: Hawan kakhan suru karbai? [What time Hawan will start?]	
B: Pandijee ata takhne na. Aay o kani askatiyaal chhatin. Dekhyau, o kakhan tak aabai chhatin [ Pandiji hasn’t arrived yet. Today he feels little lethargic. Let’s see when he turns up.]	
C: chhoru na, hum dosar pandiji ke baja dai chhee <b><i>murga nai baajtai ta bhore nai hetai.</i></b>	
MAITHILI PROVERB	<i>Murga nai baajtai ta bhor nai hetai</i>
Literal Meaning	If the cock doesn’t crow, will there be no dawn.
Prototypical Meaning	No one is indispensable.
Context	Preparation for Hawan
Participants’ Relationship	A: Servant, B: Father, C: Son
Purpose	Ridicule

##### 4.5.2. Prototypical Meaning

It is the meaning of the proverb from its praxis perspective as a prototype for its categories that exist in life. Prototypes are dispositionally created for social practices from their salience and power of prototyping nature. They can

be literal or figurative and are exemplars of categorial practices. The same proverb “*Murga nai baajtai ta bhore nai hetai?*” is used figuratively (metaphorically) to convey another meaning by superimposing the practice on other practices occurring in the society in which it is used. To explain further, this proverbial practice is taken as a prototype and other social practices that occur in the society are weighed against this practice, and if they fit into it as categories, then it is used to comment on such practices with a specific function to make the meaning clear, have aesthetic appeal, gain social prestige, etc. (see Bhuvaneswar 2013b for the functions of proverbs). The implicature of this text is that ‘no one is indispensable’. This is the prototypical meaning. In the above conversation, the proverb is used to support the directive. Here, the proverb is used not only as a directive but also for social acceptance and authorization: “To do the hawan without recognized pandit” is okay as it has been accepted culturally – one of the functions of proverbs is to get the stamp of approval from cultural tradition.

#### 4.5.3. Contextual Meaning

Contextual meaning is the meaning that is obtained by establishing prototype-categorial fit between the social practice that occurs in the context and the prototypical meaning of the proverb. If there is no prototype-categorial instantiation between the proverb and the social practice, it means the proverb is *misfired*. According to Bhuvaneswar protocat instantiation is a very crucial test.

The three syntactic structures can be represented by the subscripts 1, 2 and 3 attached to P which stands for ‘Proverb’. Thus P<sub>1</sub> stands for the structure of the proverb itself while P<sub>2</sub> for an embedded proverb and P<sub>3</sub> for a proverb preceding or following a normal utterance. When the prefix ‘P’ is added to any function, then it indicates that particular function is performed by a proverbial utterance. From the investigation, it has been observed that Maithili proverbs also occur in Bh TSs.

#### 4.6. Concepts and Principles

The following concepts and principles are observed from the analysis.

**4.6.1 Concepts:** The Maithili people made use of the concepts of exchange, turn, speech act, and move in their conversation on the one hand and proverb, categorization, P<sub>1</sub>, P<sub>2</sub>, and P<sub>3</sub> concepts of the proverb use in an exchange on the other hand.

**4.6.2 Principles:** The principles are the Principles of Dispositional Action formulated by Bhuvaneswar in Ka:rmik Discourse Analysis. They are as follows:

**4.6.3 Principle of Disposition:** “All lingual action (including discorsal (conversational) action) is GCSDMed by disposition”.

**4.6.4 Principle of Discourse Structure:** “The structure of conversation is controlled by the dispositional action-reaction-interaction choices of the interlocutors in its dynamic gradual evolution”.

**4.6.5 Principle of Proverb Typification:** “Any proverb in an exchange is either P<sub>1</sub> or P<sub>2</sub> or P<sub>3</sub> where P<sub>1</sub> proverbs do not initiate an exchange.”

**4.6.6 Principle of Proverb Meaning:** “Every proverb has three meanings: literal, prototypical, and contextual where the contextual meaning is generated only in the context of its use in discourse.”

#### 4.7. Systemic Networks of Choices

From the analysis carried out, we find an elaborate network of choices which were shown earlier in Network 3. All action starts with disposition and the construction of its dispositional reality via actional reality for the ultimate karmaphalabhogam of the Karmik Actor from his karmik reality. In this process, human beings make use of three important choices in creating choice.

- Proverbialization of Cognition (of phenomenal reality through prototypical practices as proverbs)
- Functionalizing such prototypical cognition
- Application for the construction of karmik reality.

The three concepts chosen are,

- Typification of Proverbs into (P1, P2, and P3 at the discourse structural level)
- Developing Referential-Prototypical-Contextual Meaning
- Coordination of Coordination of Action (CCOA). This network is also important to understand proverbs at a higher level of networking.

#### 4.8. Karmik Linguistic Motivation

The proverbs which have been used in these exchanges are used only to construct the proverbial karmik reality of the interlocutors by making dispositional choices in their language use, to coordinate the coordination of (proverbial lingual) action in its variety-range-depth of their living in a context of Maithili language use.

### 5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper is aimed to introduce Karmik Discourse Analysis of Maithili Proverbial Exchanges for the first time in the history of Maithili proverbology. In that direction, the first collection of 25 Elicit/Inform exchanges were collected followed by discussion on their types, meanings, and emerging discourse structure. A detailed analysis of discourse structure will be taken up as future research.

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